

ress on top of a hill.¹³³ It is related that the philosopher Aflāṭūn [Plato] was an inhabitant of this city, and his house is known by his name to the present day.¹³⁴ We lodged there in the hospice | of a poor brother of the Aḥmadiya, but after-³¹⁶ wards one of the chief men of the city came and took us over to his residence, where he entertained us right royally.

Account of the Sultan of Barghama. Its sultan is named Yakhshī Khān.¹³⁵ Khān in their language means 'sultan', and Yakhshī means 'excellent'. When we arrived he was away in a summer camp, but he was informed of our coming and sent a hospitality gift and a robe of *qudsī*.

We now hired a man to guide us on the road, and travelled over steep and rugged mountains until we came to the city of Balī Kasrī,¹³⁶ a fine and populous city with pleasant bazaars, but it has no mosque for congregational Friday prayers. They proposed to build a congregational mosque outside the town | and adjoining it, but after building its walls they left it³¹⁷ without a roof, and now they pray in it and hold the Friday service under the shade of the trees. We lodged in this city at the hospice of the Young Akhī Sinān, one of their eminent men, and were visited by its qāḍī and khaṭīb, the legist Mūsā.

Account of the Sultan of Balī Kasrī. He is named Dumūr Khān, and is a worthless person.¹³⁷ It was his father who built this city, and during the reign of this son of his it acquired a large population of good-for-nothings, for 'Like king like people'. I visited him and he sent me a silk robe. I bought in this city a Greek slavegirl named Marghalīṭa.

We went on next day to the city of Bursā, a great and im-

¹³³ Bergama, the ancient Pergamon, 60 km. north of Manisa: *Murray's Handbook*, 85 sqq.; Philippson I, 87 sqq., plate 1.

¹³⁴ As the French translators point out, Plato's name has been substituted in error for Galen.

¹³⁵ The dynasty is known as Qarasi, from its founder Qara-'Isā, who occupied Pergamon about 1306. His son Yakhshī-Khān is mentioned in both Greek and Latin sources as a notable corsair: see *E.I.*, s.v.; Wittek, *Montesche*, 21; Lemerle, 96.

¹³⁶ Balīkesir, 80 km. north-east of Bergama: *Murray's Handbook*, 61; Philippson, III, 1-9. The region was famous for its silk products: 'Omari, 43. For the route from Bergama to Brusa via Balīkesir, see Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenezis*, I, 161.

¹³⁷ Demir-Khān is variously called the brother or the son of Yakhshī-Khān, and his principality is called Akīrā by the contemporary source of al-'Omari (43). It was annexed by the Ottomans about 1345.

378 portant city | with fine bazaars and wide streets, surrounded on all sides by gardens and running springs.¹³⁸ In its outskirts there is a river of exceedingly hot water which flows into a large pond; beside this have been built two [bath] houses, one for men and the other for women. Sick persons seek a cure in this hot pool and come to it from the most distant parts of the country. There is a hospice there for visitors, in which they are given lodging and food for the period of their stay, that is three days, and which was built by one of the kings of the Turkmens.¹³⁹

We lodged in this city at the hospice of the Young Akhī Shams al-Dīn, one of the leaders of the *fiṭyān*, and happened to be staying with him on the day of 'Ashūrā'.¹⁴⁰ He made a great feast to which he invited the principal officers of the army and leading citizens during the night, and when they had broken their fast the Qur'ān-readers recited with beautiful voices. The jurist and preacher Majd al-Dīn | al-Qūnawī attended the gathering, and delivered an eloquent homily and exhortation, after which they began to sing and dance. It was a truly sublime night. This homiletic preacher is a man of saintly life; he fasts continually, and breaks his fast only every three days, he eats nothing but [what he has earned] by the labour of his hand, and he is reputed never to have eaten food [offered to him by] any person. He has no dwelling place, nor possessions other than clothes enough to cover his nakedness, and he sleeps only in the cemetery. He delivers homilies at assemblies and warns [men of the torments of hell fire, with such eloquence] that a number of persons repent at his hands in every assembly. I sought him out after this night but could not find him; even when I went to the cemetery I did not find him, and it was reported that he used to repair to it only when everyone else was asleep.

¹³⁸ Burgā (Brusa), 120 km. north-east of Balıkesir. It was captured from the Byzantine Greeks by Orkhan in 1326, just before the death of his father 'Othmān; for descriptions see *Murray's Handbook, Constantinople, Brusa, and the Troad* (London, 1900), 130-1—for its hot springs and baths, still famed—and A. Gabriel, *Une capitale turque, Brousse* (Paris, 1958).

¹³⁹ I.e. before the Ottoman conquest in 1326.

¹⁴⁰ The tenth day of Muḥarram, commonly observed as a fast day; see *E.I.*², s.v. In 732 the date was 13 October 1331; in 734, 21 September 1333. Akhī Shams al-Dīn has been identified with the father of Akhī Ḥasan, noted in the Ottoman chronicles as the spiritual advisor of Sultan Orkhan;

Anecdote. When we were attending [the celebration of] the night of 'Ashūrā' in the hospice of Shams al-Dīn, Majd al-Dīn delivered a homily there at the end of the night, and one of the poor brethren gave a loud cry | and fainted. They poured ³²⁰ rose-water over him, but he showed no signs of life, nor did he when they repeated the treatment. Those present expressed different opinions about him, some saying that he was dead, others that he had fainted. The preacher finished his discourse, the Qur'ān-readers recited, we prayed the dawn prayer, and the sun-rose; then they investigated the man's condition and found that he had quitted the world—God's mercy on him—so they busied themselves with washing him and wrapping him in his shroud. I was among those who attended his funeral prayers and burial.

This poor brother was called 'the shrieker', and they related that he used to engage in devotional exercises in a cave in those parts on a mountain. When he heard that the preacher Majd al-Dīn was to preach [anywhere] he would go there to attend his sermon, but without accepting food from anyone. During Majd al-Dīn's discourse he would cry out and faint; then after a time he would revive, perform his ablutions and pray | two bowings. But on hearing the preacher again, ³²¹ he would cry out, [and go on] doing this several times in the course of the night. He was called 'the shrieker' for this reason. He was mutilated in the arm and the leg and unable to do any work, but he had [at first] a mother who procured food for him by her spinning, and when she died he lived on wild plants.

I met in this city the pious shaikh 'Abdallāh al-Miṣrī, the traveller, and a man of saintly life. He journeyed through the earth, but he never went into China nor the island of Ceylon, nor the Maghrib, nor al-Andalus, nor the Negrolands, so that I have outdone him by visiting these regions.

Account of the Sultan of Bursā. Its sultan is Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Urkhān Bak, son of the sultan 'Othmān Chūq (*chūq* in Turkish means 'the little').¹⁴¹ This sultan is the greatest of

see E. Taeschner, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Achis in Anatolien' in *Islamica* (Leipzig, 1931), IV, 25, n. 3.

¹⁴¹ Orkhan (reigned 1326–59), second sultan of the Ottoman ('Othmānī) dynasty, so named after its first sultan, 'Othmān. The Turkish suffix *-jikh*

the kings of the Turkmens and the richest in wealth, | lands and military forces.¹⁴² Of fortresses he possesses nearly a hundred, and for most of his time he is continually engaged in making the round of them, staying in each fortress for some days to put it into good order and examine its condition. It is said that he has never stayed for a whole month in any one town. He also fights with the infidels continually and keeps them under siege. It was his father who captured the city of Burşā from the hands of the Greeks, and his tomb is in its mosque, which was formerly a church of the Christians.¹⁴³ It is told that he besieged the city of Yaznik for about twenty years, but died before it was taken.¹⁴⁴ Then this son of his [Urkhān] whom we have mentioned besieged it for twelve years before capturing it; it was there that I met him and he sent me a large sum of money.

We continued our journey to the city of Yaznik, and spent a night before reaching it at a village called Kurluh,¹⁴⁵ in the hospice of one of | the Young Akhis. From this village we travelled for a whole day through [countryside with] flowing rivers bordered with pomegranates, both sweet and acid, and eventually came to a rushy lake, at a distance of eight miles from Yaznik.¹⁴⁶ This city is surrounded on all sides by the lake, and cannot be entered except by one road like a dyke, that can be traversed by only one horseman at a

is said to have been added to his name in order to distinguish him from the caliph 'Othmān (see vol. I, p. 180, n. 91); another suggestion is that it was derived from the town of 'Othmānjīq (Osmanjik), on the Kizil Irmak river, west of Amasya; see *E.I.*, s.vv, and 'Othmāndjik.

¹⁴² The contemporary sources of al-'Omari (22, 42) give him 25,000 or 40,000 cavalry troops, but are critical of their military qualities. His territories at this time extended to Eskişehir in the south-east.

¹⁴³ Traditionally placed in the church of St. Elias (*Murray's Constantinople, etc.*, 126), but some Turkish sources assert that 'Othmān was buried in Sögüt, 60 km. south-east of Iznik, the original centre of the dynasty (*Murray's Handbook for Asia Minor*, 15).

¹⁴⁴ This is apparently a confusion with the capture of Brusa (above, n. 138). Iznik (Nicaea) was captured by Orkhan in March 1331 (Lemerle, 54, n. 6; G. G. Arnakis, *Oi Prōtoi Othōmanoi* (Athens, 1947), 187, n. 155).

¹⁴⁵ So vocalized in MS. 2289; not identified on modern maps.

¹⁴⁶ See *Murray's Constantinople, etc.*, 133-5, for the fertility of the plain and its swamps. The Arabic text that follows is in some disorder and has been slightly rearranged.

time.¹⁴⁷ It is for this reason that it held out so long, but it is now in a mouldering condition and uninhabited except for a few men in the sultan's service.¹⁴⁸ In it lives also his wife Bayalün Khātūn, who is in command of them, a pious and excellent woman.¹⁴⁹

The city is surrounded by four walls with a moat between every two of them,¹⁵⁰ and can be entered only over wooden drawbridges that they raise up when they wish to do so. Inside it there are orchards, homesteads, land and cultivated fields, and every man has his homestead, his field and orchard, all together. Its drinking water is obtained from shallow wells inside the town, and it has all sorts of fruits. Walnuts and chestnuts are exceedingly plentiful and very cheap with them; they call the chestnut *qasṭana* and the walnut *qawz*.¹⁵¹ In it grow also 'virgin' grapes,¹⁵² the like of which I have never seen elsewhere, of the utmost sweetness, large in size, clear in colour, and thin-skinned, with only one stone to each grape.

We were given lodging in this city by the jurist and imām, the pilgrim and sojourner [in the Holy Cities] 'Alā al-Dīn al-Sultānyūki, a worthy and generous man. I never went to

¹⁴⁷ This statement is puzzling, since the city was built on the eastern edge of the lake (Ascania, now Iznik Gölü). The outer wall was protected by a ditch, and the entrance in the south wall (the Yenisehir gate) is approached by a causeway; this may perhaps account for Ibn Baṭṭā'a's repetition of his earlier description of Göl-Hişār (above, p. 424), but he may possibly have found the city flooded by the rise of the river.

¹⁴⁸ According to the early Turkish sources the majority of the inhabitants of Nicaea left the city after Orkhan's conquest; O. Turan, 'L'Islamisation dans la Turquie du Moyen-Age' in *Studia Islamica* (Paris, 1939), X, 152.

¹⁴⁹ As will be seen below (p. 488), the name Bayalün is given by Ibn Baṭṭā'a to one of the wives of Sultan Muḥammad Özbek also. Although the reading is apparently attested by all MSS. it may possibly be an error for Nūṭfar, the correct name of Orkhan's wife (the difference in Arabic script being minimal); see *E.I.*, s.v. Nūṭfar Khātūn.

¹⁵⁰ These details are dubious; the city had only an outer and an inner wall, with a ditch protecting the latter, but the defences may have been temporarily strengthened during the siege.

¹⁵¹ Literally 'they call the *qasṭal qasṭana* with an *n*, and the *jawz* the *qawz* with a *q*'. The Greek *kastana* passed into Arabic in the form *qasṭal* (*qasṭall*). *Qor* is ordinary Turkish for 'walnut'.

¹⁵² 'Aḥārā or 'adhāri, so called because they resemble the fingers of young girls. The term is commonly applied to the white grapes of Tā'if, near Mecca, but also to dark grapes (from the practice of dyeing girls' fingers with henna).

visit him but he served up food. He was of handsome appearance and still more handsome character. He went with me to the Khātūn mentioned above, and she treated me honourably, gave me hospitality, and sent gifts. Some days after our arrival the sultan Urkhān Bak whom we have mentioned came to this city. I stayed in it about | forty days, on account of the illness of a horse of mine, but when I became impatient at the delay I left it behind and set out with three of my companions, and a slavegirl and two slaveboys. We had no one with us who could speak Turkish and translate for us. We had a translator previously but he left us in this city.

After our departure from it we spent the night at a village called Makajā¹⁵³ with a legist there who treated us well and gave us hospitality. On continuing our journey from this village we were preceded by a Turkish woman on a horse, and accompanied by a servant, who was making for the city of Yanijā,¹⁵⁴ while we followed her up. She came to a great river which is called Saqarī, as though it took its name from *Saqar* (God preserve us from it).¹⁵⁵ She went right on to ford the river, but when she was in the middle of it the horse nearly sank with her and threw her off its back. The servant who¹⁵⁶ was with her tried | to rescue her, but the river carried them both away. There were some men on the opposite bank who threw themselves in and swam after them; they brought out the woman with a spark of life still in her, but the man had perished—God's mercy on him. These men told us that the ford was below that place, so we went down to it. It consists of four balks of wood, tied together with ropes, on which they place the horses' saddles and the baggage; it is pulled over by men from the opposite bank, with the passengers riding on it, while the horses are led across swimming, and that was how we crossed.

We came the same night to Kāwiya,¹⁵⁶ where we lodged in the hospice of one of the Akhīs. We spoke to him in Arabic,

¹⁵³ Mekece, about 30 km. east of Iznik.

¹⁵⁴ I.e. Taraklı, 20 km. south-east of Geyve; see Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegesetz*, I, 193, n. 4.

¹⁵⁵ The Sakarya river. *Saqar* (apparently meaning 'vehement heat') is one of the names of Hell in the Qur'an (sūra liv. 48).

¹⁵⁶ Geyve, 50 km. east of Iznik (also called Torbali); *Murray's Constantinople, etc.*, 121. Ibn Baṭṭāṭa indicates his spelling of the name by adding 'on the pattern of the feminine participle from *kayy* (i.e. "cauterization")'.

JOURNEY TO YANIJĀ

and he did not understand us; he spoke to us in Turkish, and we did not understand him. Then he said 'Call the doctor of the law, for he knows Arabic,' | so the legist came and spoke ³²⁷ to us in Persian. We addressed him in Arabic, but he did not understand us, and said to the Young Brother *Īshān* '*arabī kuhnā miqūwān waman 'arabī naw mīdānam*. *Īshān* means 'these men', *kuhnā* means 'old', *miqūwān* 'they say', *naw* 'new', and *mīdānam* 'I know'.¹⁵⁷ What the legist intended by this statement was to shield himself from disgrace, when they thought that he knew the Arabic language, although he did not know it. So he said to them 'These men speak the ancient Arabic speech and I know only the new Arabic.' However, the Young Brother thought that matters really were as the man of law said, and this did us good service with him. He showed us the utmost respect, saying 'These men must be honourably treated because they speak the ancient Arabic language, which was the language of the Prophet (God bless and give him peace) and of his Companions.' I did not understand what the legist said at that time, | but I retained the ³²⁸ sound of his words in my memory, and when I learned the Persian language I understood its meaning.

We spent the night in the hospice, and the Young Brother sent a guide with us to Yanijā, a large and fine township.¹⁵⁸ We searched there for the Akhī's hospice, and found one of the demented poor brothers. When I said to him 'Is this the Akhī's hospice?' he replied *na'am* [yes] and I was filled with joy at this, [thinking] that I had found someone who understood Arabic. But when I tested him further the secret came to light, that he knew nothing at all of Arabic except the word *na'am*. We lodged in the hospice, and one of the students brought us food, since the Akhī was away. We became on friendly terms with this student, and although he knew no Arabic he offered his services and spoke to the deputy.

¹⁵⁷ This passage again betrays Ibn Baṭṭāṭa's use of the North African colloquial form *na'raf* for 'I know', and a second time below in *lam nasham*, 'I did not understand'. The faculty of memorizing phrases in a foreign language is not uncommon among Arabs; a parallel case is quoted by Yāqūt (*Irshād al-Arab*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth (London, 1907), I, 173). But it is a little surprising that the doctor of the law should speak to the Turk in Persian.

¹⁵⁸ See above, n. 154. The full name of the place was Tarakli-Yenijesi; *Murray's Handbook*, 14.

[governor] of the town, who supplied us with one of his mounted men.

129 This man went with us to Kainūk, | which is a small town inhabited by infidel Greeks under the government of the Muslims,¹⁵⁹ There is only one household of Muslims in the place, and they are the governors of the Greeks, the town being in the territories of the Sultan Urkhān Bak. We lodged in the house of an old woman, an infidel; this was the season of snow and rain,¹⁶⁰ so we gave her some money and spent that night in her house. This town has no trees or grapevines nor is anything cultivated there but saffron, and this old woman brought us a great quantity of saffron, thinking we were merchants and would buy it from her.

In the morning when we mounted our horses, the horseman whom the Young Brother had sent with us from Kainūk came to us and sent with us another horseman to conduct us to the city of Muṭurnī. There had been a heavy fall of snow during the night, which obliterated the road, so that the horseman went ahead of us and we followed in his tracks
 130 until | we reached about midday a village of Turkmens. They brought food, of which we ate, and the horseman spoke with them, whereupon one of them rode on with us. He led us over steep slopes and mountains, and by a watercourse which we crossed again and again, more than thirty times. When we got clear of this, the [Turkmen] horseman said to us 'Give me some money,' but we replied 'When we reach the town we shall give you all that you want.' He was not satisfied with our answer, or else did not understand us, for he took a bow belonging to one of my companions and went off a little way, then returned and gave the bow back to us. I gave him some money then, and he took it and decamped, leaving us with no idea which way to go, and with no road visible to us. We made an effort to find traces of the road under the snow and to follow it, until about sunset we came to a hill where the track was shown by a great quantity of stones. I was afraid |

¹⁵⁹ Cöynük, 25 km. east of Taraklı; *Murray's Handbook*, 14.

¹⁶⁰ *Saiṣā*, which in classical Arabic means 'winter', is often used in North African for 'rain' (certainly for 'winter', however, on p. 459, l. 32 below). For the next phrase, MS. 2289 reads 'and she treated us well' (*aḥsanat 'ilainā*). For the use of *aḥsana* 'ilā in the sense of 'give money to', cf. p. 459, l. 14 below)

that both I and my companions would perish, as I expected ³³¹ more snow to fall in the night, and the place was uninhabited; if we dismounted we were doomed, and if we continued on through the night we should not know which way to go. I had a good horse, however, a thoroughbred, so I planned a way of escape, saying to myself, 'If I reach safety, perhaps I may contrive some means to save my companions,' and it happened so. I commended them to God Most High and set out. ¹⁶¹ Now the people of that country build over their graves wooden chambers, which anyone who sees them would take to be habitations, but finds to be graves. I saw a large number of these, but after the hour of the night prayer I came to some houses and said 'O God, grant that they be inhabited.' I found that they were inhabited, and God Most High guided me to the gate of a certain building. I saw by it an old man and spoke to him in Arabic; he replied to me in Turkish | and ³³² signed to me to enter. I told him about my companions, but he did not understand me. It happened by the providential goodness of God that that building was a hospice of some poor brethren, and that the man standing by the gate was its shaikh. When the brethren inside the hospice heard me speaking with the shaikh, one of them came out; he was a man with whom I had an acquaintance, and when he greeted me I told him the tale of my companions, and advised him to go with the brethren to rescue them. They did so and went with me to rejoin my companions, and we came back together to the hospice, praising God Most High for our safety. This was on the eve of Friday, and the inhabitants of the village assembled and occupied the night with liturgies to God Most High. Each one of them brought what food he could, and our distress was relieved.

We rode on at dawn and reached the city of Muṭurni¹⁶² at the hour of the congregational prayer. | On alighting at the ³³³ hospice of one of the Young Akhis we found a company of travellers already there, and no stabling [available] for our animals. So we prayed the Friday prayer in some anxiety, on account of the quantities of snow, the cold, and the lack of stabling. Then we met one of the inhabitants who had made

¹⁶¹ Two MSS. read 'set out in the dark' (*savâttu*).

¹⁶² Mudurnu or Mudurlu, 35 km. east of Goynuk; *Murray's Handbook*, 14.

the Pilgrimage and who greeted us, knowing Arabic. I was heartily glad to see him and asked him to direct us to some place where we could hire stabling for the animals. He replied 'To tether them inside any place of habitation could not be managed, because the doors of the houses in this town are small, and horses could not be got through them; but I shall guide you to a covered arcade in the bazaar, where travellers and those who come to do business in the bazaar tie up their horses.' So he guided us to the place and we tethered our horses in it, and one of my companions settled himself in an empty shop alongside it, to guard the animals. |

310 *Anecdote.* There was a strange thing happened to us [there]. I sent one of the servants to buy chopped straw for the beasts, and one of them to buy ghee. Number one came back with the straw, but number two came back empty-handed and laughing. We asked him what he was laughing at, and he replied 'We stopped at a stall in the bazaar and asked him for *samm* [ghee]. He signed to us to wait, and spoke to a boy with him, to whom we then gave the money. He was away for a long time, and came back with some straw. We took it from him and said "We want *samm*," whereupon he said "This is *samm*".' It came to light that they say *samm* for chopped straw in Turkish, and ghee is called by them *rughan*.¹⁶³

When we met in with this pilgrim who knew Arabic, we besought him to travel with us to Qaştamūniya, which is ten days' journey from this town. I presented him with an Egyptian robe, | one of my own, gave him also ready money, which he left to meet the expenses of his family, assigned him an animal to ride, and promised him a good reward. When he set out with us it became evident from his conduct that he was a man of substantial wealth, who had made loans to a number of persons, but of mean ambitions, base character, and evil actions. We used to give him money for our expenses and he would take what bread was left over and trade it for spices, vegetables and salt, and appropriate the money that he got by selling these. I was told too that he used to steal some of the money for our expenses as well. We had to put up

¹⁶³ *Semen* in Persian and Turkish means 'clover'. *Rawghan* also is a Persian word, colloquially pronounced *rūghan* in Turkish.

with him because of our difficulties through not knowing Turkish, but the thing went so far that we openly accused him and would say to him at the end of the day 'Well, Hajji, how much of the expense-money have you stolen today?' He would reply 'So much,' and we would laugh at him and make the best of it.

One of his base actions was that, when a horse of ours died at one of the halts of our journey, he did the job of | skinning ³³⁶ it with his own hands and sold the hide. Another occurred when we lodged for the night with a sister of his in a village. She brought us food and fruit, namely pears,¹⁶⁴ apples, apricots and peaches, all of them dried and [then] cooked in water until they soften, when they are eaten and their juice drunk. We wanted to pay her, but when he learned of this he said 'Don't give her anything, but give that amount to me.' So we gave the money to him to satisfy him, but we also gave her something secretly, in such a way that he did not know of it.

We came next to the city of Bülü.¹⁶⁵ When we were nearly there, we came upon a river which seemed, to all appearances, a small one, but when some of my companions got into the stream, they found it exceedingly fast and impetuous. They all crossed it, however, except for a young slavegirl whom they were afraid to take across. | Since my horse was a better ³³⁷ one than theirs, I mounted her behind me and started to cross the river. But when I was in the middle of it, my horse stumbled with me and the girl fell off. My companions got her out with a spark of life still in her, and I for my part came out safely.

On entering the city, we sought out the hospice of one of the Young Akhīs. One of their customs is to keep a fire always alight in their hospices during the winter. At each angle of the hospice they put a fireplace, and they make vents for them by which the smoke rises, so that it does not incommodate [those in] the hospice. They call these [chimneys] *bakhārī*, the singular being *bakhīrī*.

¹⁶⁴ *Ijjās* in classical Arabic means 'plums', but in Maghribine usage 'pears' (adopted also by the French translators).

¹⁶⁵ Bolu, 45 km. north-east of Mudurnu, on the northern side of the Bolu Su, a tributary of the Filyos (Filiyas) river; *Murray's Handbook*, 5.

